FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FEBRUARY 6, 1915

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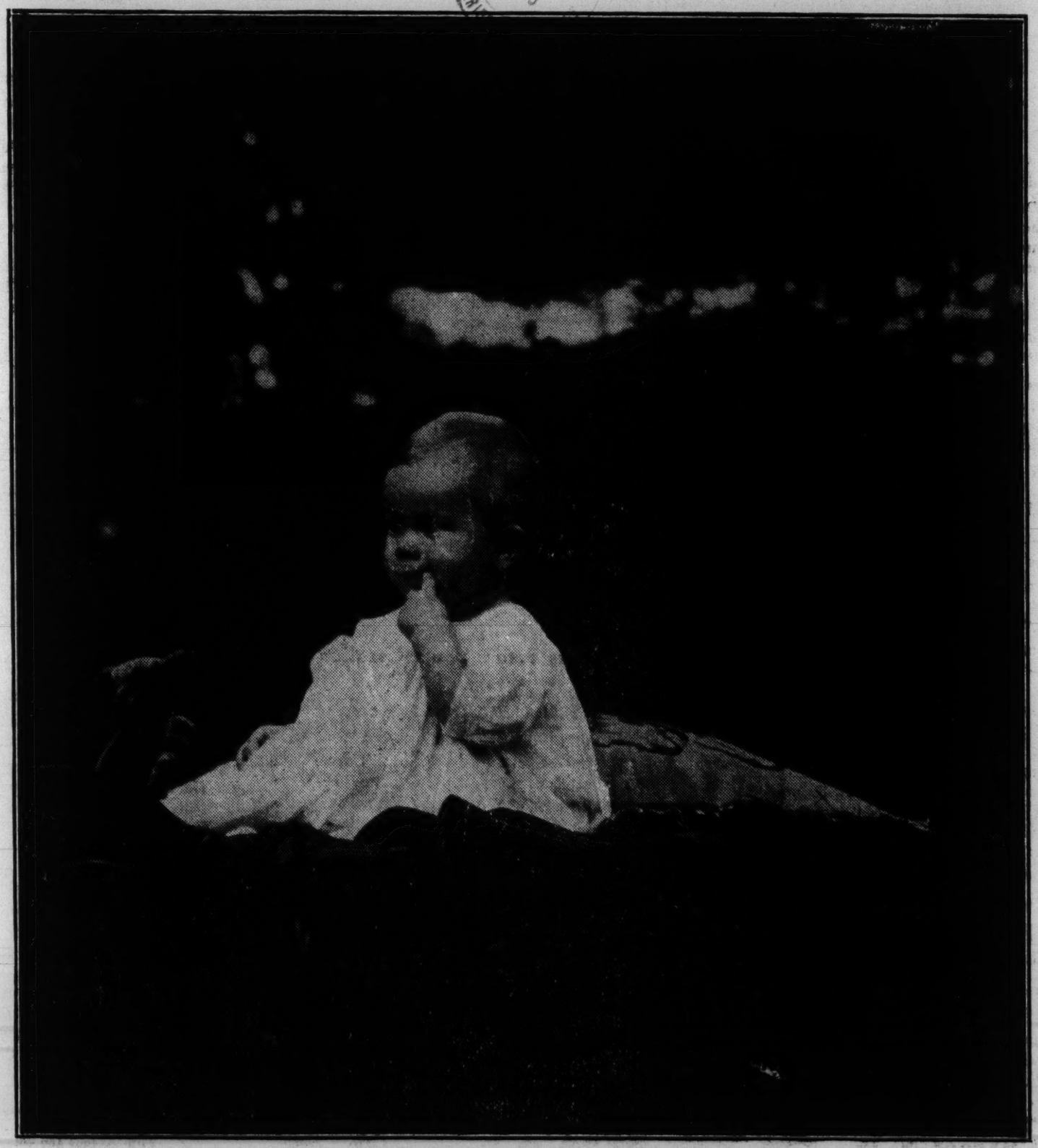

THE FIRST MUNITION OF WAR

Vol. III February 6, 1915 No. 6

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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News of the Week

In Congress

AS a result of the protest by the Congressional Union against that part of the Ship Purchase Bill providing for the expenditure without the consent of women, of millions of dollars collected from them, Senator Jones of Washington, presented the following amendment to the bill on February 2nd:

"*Provided,* That no revenues derived through taxes or duties collected from unenfranchised women of the United States shall be available or used for any of the purposes of this act."

The Vice President then announced: "The proposed amendment will lie on the table and be printed."

The suffrage question is thus again before Congress in a most practical form.

The Advisory Council

THE Advisory Council of the Congressional Union has been strengthened during the week by the addition of Mrs. S. M. B. Young, wife of General Young, the director of Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Young is a Montana woman and took an active part in the recent successful suffrage campaign in that State.

Mrs. Young makes the eighth woman voter on the Advisory Council. The other enfranchised women on the council are: Dr. Cora Smith King of Seattle, Washington, Treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters; Mrs. F. W. Therkelsen and Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon; and Miss Charlotte Anita Whitney, Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Miss Gail Laughlin, and Mrs. Inez Haynes Gilmore, of California.

Amendment Passes Tennessee Legislature

THE Tennessee Legislature has just passed a suffrage amendment which, if successful in passing another legislature, and if ratified at a referendum of the men of the State, will enfranchise Tennessee women. Encouraged by this success, suffragists have already begun a campaign designed to secure the passage of the resolution by the next legislature.

Presidential Suffrage Recommended by Republican Leader of Rhode Island Legislature

MR. RICHARD W. JENNINGS, Republican leader of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, has recommended that the bill granting Presidential suffrage to the women of Rhode Island, be brought up for a vote at an early date in the Rhode Island Legislature. The proposed bill would grant partial suffrage to women over twenty-one who had lived in the State for two years or more and in the place where they registered for six months previous to time of registration. The bill was sent to the committee having it in charge.

Suffrage Bill Passed by West Virginia Legislature

BY a vote of eighty to six in the State House of Representatives, and twenty to one in the Senate, the West Virginia State Legislature decided to refer the suffrage amendment to their State Constitution, to the people, at the next general election. There were only seven dissenting votes.

Senator Rosenbloom, of Ohio County, while voting to refer the proposed amendment to the people, stated on the floor of the State Senate that he, personally, expected to vote against it at the polls and to do all in his power to defeat the measure. Four Senators, Hatfield, Kump, Fox and Keim, spoke in favor of the resolution. Senator Steed made several remarks on the floor which were hissed by the women present. In the State House of Representatives, however, there was but one man who spoke to explain his vote. Mr. Mc. Carley, (Democrat), said he would vote for the resolution because his party declared for it in West Virginia, but he did not "believe in woman suffrage," and did not wish to be thought to be favoring it personally.

The six delegates to vote against the measure were: Mr. Board, of Roane; Davisson, of Harrison; Harmon, of McDowell; Kittle, of Barbour; Monroe, of Hampshire; and Samson, of Wayne. The referendum will be held in 1916.

Suffragist Speaks Before South Carolina Legislature

MRS. LILA M. VALENTINE, President of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League, was invited by the Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives, Mr. James H. Hoyt, to speak before that body on Wednesday evening, January 27th, and great interest was shown by the Southern men in Mrs. Valentine's speech.

Virginia Suffragists Work on Petition for 1916 Legislature

THE suffrage societies of Richmond have begun the work of securing names to a petition, asking that their State Constitution be amended to give suffrage to the women of Virginia. They hope to bring the question before the Legislature in 1916. The women state their intention of giving every person in the State the opportunity of signing the petition.

Work of Suffragists in North Carolina

THE North Carolina senate has just passed by a large majority a bill authorizing women to become notaries public. This is one of the three bills on which the Equal Suffrage Association of that state has concentrated its efforts.

A New Suffrage Paper

THE *Catholic Suffragist,* organ of the Catholic Society of England, is the latest addition to the list of suffrage papers. The *Common Cause,* organ of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies of England, in commenting on the appearance of the *Catholic Suffragist,* says: "It is a spirited action to start a new propaganda paper in these days, and we incline to the belief that no movement but ours would have had the courage to do it."

California Women Recommend Legislation

THE Women's Legislative Council of California, representing women's clubs throughout the state, has planned to submit to the legislature recommendations with regard to bills in the interest of women and children. The Council suggests:

A bill providing for teachers to enter the homes of the state to teach parents the best methods of sanitation, cooking and such other things as may be helpful to the family and children.

A bill providing that children shall be required to go to school until they have passed the eighth grade. This is a change from the present age limit requirement.

A bill providing for a penal farm for first or slight offenders. This is aimed to keep them away from the bad influence of prison life.

A bill providing for completer birth and death registration.

A bill providing for the legalizing of women serving as jurors.

A bill to strengthen the child labor law.

A bill providing for the requirement of the wife's signature for sale of homestead property.

A bill freeing women from inheritance taxes on community property.

And a bill providing that women shall have a right to their own wages.

Woman Lawyer to Sit as Police Judge

POLICE JUDGE THOMAS P. WHITE, of Los Angeles, is trying an experiment in his court that is of interest to women. He is allowing a woman to preside over all cases where women are tried, and will ultimately establish a woman's court if he secures the sanction of the State legislature. All hearings are held behind closed doors and visitors and men are excluded. This is to protect women from blackmailers who have made a practice of taking the names and addresses of female defendants in order to extort money. At present Mrs. George Bullock, a well-known attorney and student of criminology, who is helping Judge White in this experiment, can only advise him as to the proper decision, because she has not yet been appointed by the state. However, a bill is to be introduced in the present legislature providing for the position which she will then fill.

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The Federal Amendment and the Race Problem

By Helena Hill Weed

IT would appear that the greatest opposition to the Federal Amendment is based on the fear that the Southern states would be forced to live through another "Reconstruction Period" if the Federal Amendment, preventing disfranchisement on the sole ground of sex, were adopted.

In the first place, such fears are groundless as the Anthony Amendment would directly enfranchise no one, but would simply require each state to apply its electoral qualifications equally to its men and women citizens.

Thus Alabama, which restricts its male negro vote through residence, property, intelligence, employment and other qualifications, would simply apply those same standards to negro women applying for registration, and could disqualify them by the same means, if they did not reach the required standards.

The states which have the "Grandfather clause" would be in exactly the same position to retain their white supremacy that they now are, for women have grandfathers just as men have.

The political equality granted women by the Federal Amendment would not interfere in any way with the right reserved to each state in Article I, Section 2, of the Federal Constitution, whereby each state can establish "qualification" to meet its own electoral problems, save in the one fact that states could no longer set up standards of fitness for the exercise of the right of suffrage, and then say that men who meet these standards are eligible for enfranchisement, but that women, merely because they are women, may not be made voters, even though they meet every standard set up for men.

AS a matter of fact, the enfranchisement of Southern women would enormously increase the white supremacy, as was shown in an article in the *Suffragist* of November 14, 1914. The figures used in that article were the figures for the total population of the fifteen Southern states, and may be found on page 100 of the Abstract of the 1910 U. S. Census. We here give the figures for the population, *twenty-one years of age and over in the year 1910*, the year the census was taken. The point illustrated by the comparison is strengthened by these figures because, owing to the very much higher death rate among negro infants than among white babies, the relative preponderance of white females above the age of twenty-one years is very much greater. The tables used in the following comparison may be found on pages 110 and 118 of the same Abstract of the 1910 Census, and are the figures for "Males and Females, twenty-one years of age and over in the year 1910."

STATES	White Females	Negro Females	Negro Males	Total Negro Population	Preponderance White Females over Negro Females	Preponderance White Females over Total Negro Population
Delaware	50,160	8,281	9,050	17,331	41,879	32,829
Maryland	309,897	63,899	63,963	127,862	245,998	182,035
District of Columbia	81,662	34,449	27,621	62,070	47,213	19,592
Virginia	353,516	164,844	159,593	324,437	188,672	29,079
North Carolina	358,583	159,236	146,752	305,988	199,347	52,595
South Carolina	162,625	181,264	169,155	350,419	—18,639	—187,794
Georgia	343,187	269,937	266,814	536,751	73,250	—193,564
Florida	105,662	72,998	89,659	162,657	32,664	— 56,995
Kentucky	506,299	73,413	75,694	149,107	432,886	357,192
Tennessee	419,646	122,707	119,142	241,849	296,939	177,797
Alabama	284,116	217,676	213,923	431,599	66,440	—147,483
Mississippi	180,787	231,901	233,701	465,602	—51,114	—284,815
Arkansas	248,964	102,917	111,365	214,282	146,047	34,682
Louisiana	222,473	172,711	174,211	346,922	49,762	—124,449
Texas	722,063	161,959	166,398	328,357	560,104	393,706
Total	4,349,640	2,038,192	2,027,041	4,065,233	2,311,450	284,407

INTERPRETATION OF CENSUS TABLE

FROM the above tables it is seen that there are, in these fifteen states, 2,311,450 more white women than negro women, and 284,407 more white women, alone, than negro men and women combined.

In nine of these states, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas this relative proportion is true, there being 4,159,085 more white women than negro women in these nine states, and 1,279,507 more white women than negro men and women combined. In four of the remaining six, namely, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana there are more white women than negro women in each one, totalling in all 222,116 more white women than negro women, but the total negro population, men and women combined, outnumbers the female white population.

In the remaining two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, there are more negro women than white women by 68,753, but this same relation of race distribution prevails with reference to men, and would be met by the same laws of enfranchisement that now enforce white supremacy under manhood suffrage.

The interesting point, with reference to the electorate in these states is that if they enfranchised their women the *quality* of the white electorate would be tremendously raised, because male whites are more illiterate than female whites; so that in disfranchising the negro illiterates under the already existing laws, and enfranchising the white females as a result of the Federal Amendment, the quality of the electorate would be automatically raised far above its present standard under male suffrage alone.

The opposition to the submission of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment that was based on the ground of "fear that it would further complicate the Race Problem" is not only contrary to the actual facts of the situation, but can only be regarded as an appeal to prejudice by those who are against any form of enfranchisement for women. The political equality to be granted under that amendment is not universal woman suffrage, and to argue on the ground that it is is an affront to the intelligence of American women.

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914.
Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:
In the Senate: March 19, 1914, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House: January 12, 1915, 174 in favor, 204 opposed; failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:
In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:
In the Senate: April 7, 1914, favorable report

Present Status:
In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.

That Democratic Platform Again

THE tottering ruin of the Democratic platform has received a companion prop to the one put under it when the President refused to support the Suffrage Amendment because it was not in the party's platform. This time he maintains that he cannot support the literacy test in the Immigration Bill because it is not in the platform. And, as on that other day when he invoked the platform to give an excuse for his act, there was the companion demolishment of another plank—that time the Panama Canal Tolls Repeal—so this time the accompaniment of the plea that he cannot sanction the Literacy Test because it is not in the platform is the demand that the party majority in Congress pass the Ship Purchase Bill, which is in direct violation of every Democratic party pledge ever laid down in the party platform. The campaign text book says that "the Democratic party has never given its sanction to the appropriation out of the national treasury of funds, subsidies or subventions in aid of the American Merchant Marine, in fact the declarations of that party have been squarely against such policy." The book further denounces such a policy as "wasteful, illogical and useless."

Thus do we see that party platforms serve a useful, if somewhat uncertain purpose.

Caucus Rule

TO all who doubt the truth of the statement we have so often reiterated, that ours is a government by party caucus, we commend a careful study of the debate on the Ship Purchase bill. Senator Norris of Nebraska (Republican), put the situation in a nutshell in the course of his speech on the floor of the Senate:

"This measure is made a partisan one," he said. "It is drafted in caucus so that any amendments which may be offered here will necessarily be voted down unless they are taken up by the committee and by the committee referred to the caucus and receive favorable action there."—(*Congressional Record*, January 29, page 2739.)

The Federal Amendment

IT is admitted by even the bitterest opponents of equal suffrage that we have the constitutional right to seek to amend the Federal Constitution by the Anthony Amendment. But many opponents of this amendment claim that while they are friendly to suffrage they think we should seek it through the State Constitutions only.

The only reply that we make to such objectors is that if the method we propose is one of the methods authorized by law no one has any right to try to force us to take any other method. If we admit that we should abandon the Federal method simply because many people do not like the idea of securing enfranchisement by that means, then we lay ourselves open to defeat by those who oppose the enfranchisement of women altogether, for they can say with quite as much propriety, when we go to the State Legislatures, "Citizenship comes from the Federal Government, so should the enfranchisement of half the nation—this is too great a matter to be settled by a State." We would be lost between the upper and the nether mill-stone.

If it is right that the Constitution be amended in this way then to deny us the privilege of so doing is to deny us a right granted to us under the Constitution. The fact that another way exists to do, piecemeal, what we seek to do in one effort through the Federal Constitution, in no way affects the case. Our rights are abridged when we are refused a constitutional means provided for effecting a change in our form of government, a thing more jealously and sacredly guarded than any other right guaranteed to us by our country.

The Gates of Asylum

ONE of the two reasons given by the President for vetoing the Immigration Bill was that the section which would have prevented Mrs. Pankhurst or any other member of the "Militants" from ever again entering this country was "a radical departure from the traditional and long-established policy of this country, a policy in which our people have conceived the very character of their government to be expressed."

He states, in his veto, that the passage would "all but close entirely the gates of asylum which have always been open to those who could find nowhere else the right and opportunity of constitutional agitation for what they conceived to be the natural and inalienable rights of men. The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of elevated character and noble purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land. It is difficult for me to believe that the full effect of this feature of the bill was realized when it was framed and adopted, and it is impossible for me to assent to it in the form in which it is here cast."

Suffragists all over the country have been protesting to the White House against the clauses which would have excluded militant supporters of woman suffrage from our shores, and it is with great satisfaction that they see the stand which the President has taken in his veto.

THE NATIONALIZING OF SUFFRAGE WORK

By Anna G. Porritt

THE obstacle to all advance in the days when women first began to awaken and to peer out of the windows of their homes, was the isolation in which each woman lived, the lack of organization, and the complete absence of any sense of sisterhood and solidarity among women. Suffrage movements were impossible without organization, and the first great benefit that came to women through better facilities for education was the perception of the value of associated action. The opening of the colleges to women, the first organization of women's clubs, the entrance of women into the industries and into the professions—every step forward in the long and painful march—has been accompanied and made possible by increased power of association. One of the reasons that suffrage has lagged behind the other achievements of women has been that other achievements and triumphs were possible with a slighter degree of organization, while to obtain woman suffrage, close and wide-spread solidarity was necessary.

It is one of the most obvious aspects of the suffrage movement, that it has broken down class and race distinctions and has brought women together in a manner that was unprecedented in human history And yet until the Congressional Union came into the field the old barriers of individualism and particularity had not entirely disappeared in the plans and methods of the suffrage societies and organizations The women of each State were separately organized for special purposes They were federated in the National Association, which was one great step forward. But there was no unity of purpose in their actions, and as each State association had a special and, it might almost be said, a selfish purpose in view—the enfranchisement of the women of that particular state, irrespective of the fate of the women in other States—there was often danger of jealousies and even clashes between one State association and another. There was much mutual help. When a campaign was actively in progress in any State, the suffragists of other States sent aid in various forms and there was keen interest and sympathy in the results of the campaign. But there was no unity of purpose, and each State was chiefly concerned with its own affairs and with forwarding as far as possible the passage of suffrage measures through its own legislature.

THE Congressional Union is the first suffrage association which is purely national in its scope. It is an association which has but one object and that an object which is of importance to every State in the Union. It sweeps away all particularism, and all State divisions. It regards the women of the nation as one great body and works equally for all of them. It is willing to work in an individual State when that work will have a beneficial result on the one great purpose towards which all its energies are bent. It will send workers into Nevada to help to win that State for suffrage, or it will open a campaign in Delaware when there seems good hope of winning that State. But its chief design is not the enfranchisement of the few thousand women in Nevada or in Delaware. It is the enfranchisement of all the women of the United States with the aid of these women when they shall have gained the vote.

This new solidarity—this final achievement among American women in organization—shows itself best in the new work that has been put before the enfranchised women of the suffrage States. Before the incoming of the Congressional Union a Western State had a suffrage campaign. The Eastern States, the Middle States—States from all parts of the Union sent help and workers. There was intense interest all through the country. The campaign was successful, and the vote was won for the women of California, Oregon or Kansas. Suffragists all over the United States rejoiced and made new suffrage maps; and there the matter practically ended. The newly enfranchised women dropped out of suffrage work. Their own case was won and there was nothing for them to do. The Congressional Union has found work for them to do. It has called upon the enfranchised women to join hands and to use their power for their unenfranchised sisters. It is making of the women all over the United States one united body, with a unity of purpose which shall override all State and sectional selfishness, and which in its large vision shall embrace the whole field of suffrage work and shall make possible the subordination of local work whenever such subordination shall be helpful to the greater work of the whole.

IT is not only the fact that enfranchisement by national constitutional amendment is the most direct, the swiftest and the most economical method of obtaining votes for women in America that makes the work of the Congressional Union of importance. It is because in its work the women of this great country get a new leadership towards union, towards co-operation, towards that complete solidarity of womanhood which will, within the lifetime of the coming generation, give women such a position in the life of the nation as shall make impossible such unspeakable tragedies as are now being enacted on the other side of the Atlantic.

Points on the Federal Amendment

By Matilda Hall Gardner

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, in 1875, first proposed and worked for a National Constitutional amendment to give women the vote. That amendment in this Congress is known as the Bristow-Mondell amendment.

THE National Constitution has been amended 18 times. The 17th was the Direct Election of Senators. The 18th was the Income Tax. The 19th should be the Suffrage Amendment.

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment, after it has passed Congress, is before the State Legislatures until ratified. The 17th amendment was ratified in a little over one year.

AN amendment to the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote in the House and Senate and ratification by a majority vote in three-fourths of the State Legislatures.

THE vote on the Anthony Suffrage Amendment in the House of Representatives on January 12th, 1915, was the first vote ever taken on woman suffrage in the House of Representatives.

THE vote on the Suffrage Amendment in the House was 204 against to 174 in favor. It failed by 78 to secure the necessary two-thirds.

THE Suffrage Amendment was voted on in the United States Senate March 19, 1914. In favor, 35; opposed, 34. It failed by 11 to secure a two-thirds vote.

THE Susan B. Anthony amendment, now known as the Bristow-Mondell amendment, was re-introduced in the Senate on January 20th and is now on the calendar.

THE Federal Amendment offers the simplest and quickest means by which all women can secure the vote. The only other way is by local campaigns in 37 States.

TO ratify the Federal Amendment only 24 additional State Legislatures would have to be won, since 12 States have already given women the vote.

THE passage of a Federal Amendment would avoid many obstacles which States have deliberately placed in the way of any change in the State Constitutions. Only one favorable action by Congress is necessary to propose a Constitutional Amendment. Such a proposal is then before the States until ratified.

FOUR million women can now vote. This means that one-fourth of the Senate and nearly one-sixth of the House represent States where women vote.

A DEMOCRATIC "statesman" has said, "Suffrage is not a right, but a privilege." We ask, who bestows this privilege?

WOMEN can now vote in 12 States, but women who move from these States are disfranchised though they may comply with all the requirements of citizenship.

MEN who comply with the requirements of the State laws are not disfranchised when they move from one State to another, why should women be? Women are also citizens.

A STATE referendum on the question of woman's enfranchisement is submitted to men only. Why not submit to women the question whether men should cease to vote?

THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC

By H. W.

IN this day when legislators stand in the halls of Congress, and solemnly assert that "the question of having qualifications of electors fixed by the central government was never dreamed of by the Founders of the Republic," it is time to refresh our memories on the facts in the case.

The debates of the Federal Convention of 1787 shows pages upon pages of debate on this very question. Perhaps the argument of those who believed that the Federal Government, in the Constitution itself, should regulate the qualifications for the exercise of the franchise, as well as those of citizenship, is best voiced by James Madison in his speech on August 10th, 1787, when he said:

"The right of suffrage is certainly one of the fundamental articles of republican government, and ought not to be left to be regulated by the Legislature. A gradual abridgment of this right has been the mode in which aristocracies have been built on the ruins of popular government. Whether the constitutional qualification ought to be a freehold would depend much on the probable reception such a change would meet in the States, where the right is now exercised by every description of people." The discussion between Madison and Benjamin Franklin then branches off into the question of qualifications themselves, Dr. Franklin saying at one point that he "did not think that the elected had any right in any case to narrow the privileges of the electors." Later in the discussion James Madison says "the qualifications of electors and elected are fundamental articles in a republican government and ought to be fixed by the Constitution. If the Legislature could regulate those of either, it can by degrees subvert the Constitution. In all cases where the representatives of the people will have a personal interest distinct from that of their constituents, there is the same reason for being jealous of them, as there is for relying on them with full confidence, when they have a common interest. It is a power which also might be made subservient to the views of one faction against another. Qualifications founded on artificial distinctions may be devised by the stronger in order to keep out partisans of the weaker faction."

Mr. Madison later observed that the British Parliament possessed the power of regulating the qualifications both of the electors and the elected, and the abuse which it had made of it was a lesson worthy of attention. It had made the changes in both cases subservient to its own views, he said.

IN the minds of the Fathers there never seems to have been raised a single question as to *the propriety and right of the Central Government to control the qualifications of the electors through the Constitution itself.* The whole discussion and subsequent relegation of the matter to the States was based on the inability of the delegates to agree upon uniform qualifications for all the States, not on any statement of principle that the matter was not a proper one to be controlled through the Constitution. It is perfectly clear that the reason it was left to the States at that time was due to the fact that the States were composed of isolated colonies with little inter-communication, and settled by widely different classes of people which could not at that time be welded into a homogeneous nation. The Puritans in New England, the Catholics of Maryland, the Episcopalians of Virginia, the Moravians of Pennsylvania and all the other different religions represented in the colonies could not agree upon the religious qualification then deemed necessary, nor could the poor debtors of Georgia agree with the wealthy Virginia land owners as to proper qualifications. Land owners and merchants who owned no land differed radically as to the meaning of "property." It was recognized that with the development of the country and the opening up of lines of communication and the welding of the scattered groups of colonists into a unified nation, the conditions would be wholly different and the matter could then be adjusted to meet the new needs. To argue that any changes in the Constitution now, in this or any other matter, would be a reflection on the wisdom, foresight and sound judgment of the Fathers, is to deny the solemn belief which they themselves expressed with their own lips as they consulted together in 1787, for the conclusion is inevitably drawn from their debates that they never dreamed they were forming laws, either with regard to the franchise or to public policy generally, which would be available in our day and generation.

MR. GORHAM voiced this idea very clearly when he said "it is not to be supposed that *this* government will last so long as to produce this effect (rendering excessive the proportionate number of representatives planned for in the Constitution). Can it be supposed that this vast country including the Western territory will 150 years hence remain one nation?" Mr. Ellsworth replied "if the Government should continue so long, alterations may be made in the Constitution in the manner proposed in a subsequent article."

This right to change when the conditions demand it, is a more fundamental right in the American plan of Government than any other principle. The Declaration of Independence lays it down as a fundamental doctrine, the Constitution of the United States names it as a basic principle, and the constitution of every State in the Union reiterates this inherent right of citizens. To deny this right to half the citizens of the country is to deny and repudiate what has been a fundamental principle of government since the inception of the nation.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS

Invading the Enemy's Camp

THE Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage is a fighting organization. No pink tea and parlor methods for the Congressional. The workers are politically organized and they meet the enemy with his own weapons; worse still—for the enemy—they meet him in his own camp. Before woman suffrage came up for a debate and vote in Congress, every Congressman was personally interviewed and appealed to by the Congressional. After the vote, every Congressman was labeled and listed as friend or foe. From Washington, the center of its activity, the Congressional is now following the anti-suffrage Congressmen into their home States and home towns, into their very districts, and is telling their own constituents about their arguments, excuses, and subterfuges on the woman suffrage question. In the New York headquarters of the Congressional Union, opened only a few days ago, they have a list of many New York Congressmen who voted "no" on the woman suffrage amendment. Each of these gentlemen will be seen or written to, and will be asked to explain his position. Suffrage mass meetings will be held in his district, and his constituents will discuss his attitude. Above all will the theory of States' rights, that convenient excuse for voting against a federal suffrage amendment, be thoroughly exploded.

The Congressional Union is to be congratulated on the sound, systematic fight that it is making. It is not only keeping woman suffrage constantly before the public eye as a national issue, it is also compelling the enemies of suffrage to fight in the open and to fight fairly.—*New York Call*, January 29.

The Congressional Union

A YEAR ago in January the Congressional Union started out as an independent organization. It has the honor of having given Washington and the Capitol at Washington more real dynamic shocks than they had ever received before in their quiet, well-ordered existence, and it has kept up the process of galvanization ever since.—*Washington Herald*, January 31.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

Oregon

Headquarters: 613 *Eilers Building, Portland.*
Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

ON Thursday of this week I spoke for a few minutes before the Home Department of the Parent-Teacher Association at the Central Library. Mrs. W. J. Hawkins, of our Sustaining Committee, is one of the most influential women of the Parent-Teacher Association here in Portland. The organization including all of its clubs, has a membership of 5,000.

The Sustaining Committee has just finished sending out about 400 letters asking for monthly subscriptions for the maintenance of the Oregon headquarters.

Among our prominent members is Mrs. L. B. Bartlett, Chairman of the Woman's Advisory Committee of the Oregon Republican State Central Committee.

The Suffragist is declared by Oregonians to be "splendid." Many subscribers are passing on their copies to their friends. It is kept in one doctor's office, in a musician's studio, and in the public library.

The press throughout the state is most cordial. Several more letters offering hearty co-operation have been received from editors of state papers.

Virginia Arnold.

New York

Headquarters: 13 *East Forty-first Street.*
Organizer: *Miss Doris Stevens.*

THE first meeting of protest against the action of several of the New York Congressmen on the occasion of the recent vote in the National House of Representatives was held in Bronxville, Friday morning, January 29th, in the beautiful and spacious studio of Mrs. Bertram Sears. Mrs. F. T. Ackermann, President of the Bronxville Suffrage Association, presided over the meeting. I spoke on the work of the Congressional Union, and emphasized particularly the significance of the recent vote in the House.

Words of protest were expressed from many women in the district of Representative Oglesby, who failed to vote on the Mondell Resolution. A letter of explanation from Mr. Oglesby was read, in which he outlined in detail, the reasons for his not being present when the vote was taken. His excuses did not satisfy the audience, however, and it was agreed that a deputation of women from his district go to him at once to secure his promise to be present and vote favorably the next time the vote was taken in the House. Mr. Oglesby declares himself to be a good suffragist, but the women realize that the only belief which merits credit, is that which is translated into a vote.

Many Bronxville women joined the Union, and pledged themselves to work for the Federal Amendment. This was the first of a series of three meetings to be held in the 24th District. The second will be held in Scarsdale at the home of Mrs. Frances Thurber; the third one in the Women's Political Union headquarters in the Bronx. Mr. Oglesby's constituents will be amply informed of his failure to vote on this amendment.

Wednesday afternoon, February 3rd, at the home of Mrs. William Prendergast in Brooklyn, we shall organize a deputation which will wait upon H. H. Dale, of the 4th District, who voted against the Suffrage Amendment in the House. At this meeting the speakers will be Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, Miss Lucy Burns, Mrs. William L. Colt and myself. This will be the first Congressional Union meeting held in Brooklyn, and is arousing a great deal of interest.

Thursday of this week, I will speak on the federal work in the Suffrage Shop on Fifth Avenue.

Next Monday, we shall hold a joint meeting covering the 17th and 18th Congressional Districts, at the home of Mrs. Eldon Bisbee, 60 East 78th Street. J. F. Carew, and T. G. Patten, the representatives from these two districts, both voted against our amendment. The meeting will therefore take the form of a protest meeting.

We have set the date for our Cooper Union meeting on February 22nd. It will take the form of a patriotic meeting, designed to secure the votes of Senators Root and O'Gorman the next time the measure comes up in the Senate.

Mrs. William Colt is in charge of the work of organizing the deputations to the newly elected Con-

MRS. WILLIAM COLT

Who Is Orgaaizing the Deputations to New York Congressmen

gressmen from New York in order to lay before them the national suffrage amendment, and ask their support of this measure when they reach Washington. Mrs. Colt is also organizing the deputations to the New York Representatives who voted against the Mondell Resolution in the House, expressing to them the dissatisfaction felt with their action by their constituents.

Doris Stevens.

Delaware

Headquarters: 305 *Delaware Avenue, Wilmington.*
Chairman: *Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles.*
Organizers: *Miss Mabel Vernon.*
Miss Anna McCue.
Mrs. Edna S. Latimer.

ON Tuesday, February 9th, we have a hearing before the Revised Statutes Committee of the Senate at Dover. Mrs. Hilles will preside. Mrs. Latimer and I are starting off tomorrow for an automobile trip through Sussex.

Mrs. Hilles has been attending to the Wilmington headquarters and has certainly kept things stirring in the upper part of the State. Tuesday night she addressed a meeting in the public school at Delaware City, which was attended by the representative from that district who declares he is anxious to learn something about suffrage. A resolution was passed at this meeting urging the Senator and Representative from the district to vote for the suffrage amendment. On Wednesday Mrs. Hilles spoke to a parlor meeting of about forty people at the home of Mrs. Price, in Wilmington. Here again resolutions were passed and every woman present pledged herself to write immediately to her senator and representative.

Saturday afternoon Senator Thomas F. Gormley, one of the senators from Wilmington, met a delegation of women from his district at State Headquarters. Senator Gormley voted against woman suffrage in the Delaware legislature of 1913, of which he was a member, and declared last Saturday that he would vote against it again UNLESS he can be shown that the majority of his constituents are in favor of suffrage. Women are starting out immediately through Senator Gormley's district to get the requisite number of people to declare that they want him to vote for the suffrage amendment. Mrs. Hilles is busy making arrangements for meetings to be held at once, both in parlors and in halls, in every part of the Senator's district, and there is no doubt we will get his vote if he abides by the wishes of his people.

I spent Friday arranging a meeting at Kenton which Miss McCue addressed on Saturday night and Saturday was given to Cheswold where I held a good sized and very enthusiastic meeting that night. Miss McCue will spend the coming week in the lower part of Kent County holding meetings at Hartley, Marydel, Slaughter, and other small towns. On Friday night Mrs. Hilles and I will both speak in the Opera House in Smyrna, one of the most important towns in the State. Representative Hall, of the Smyrna district, has promised to be present.

I must include in this report a meeting that was held yesterday (Sunday) afternoon under the direction of the Philanthropic Committee of the Wilmington Meeting of Friends. Mrs. Hilles and I were both invited by this committee to speak in the Friends Meeting House. The entire audience was apparently in favor of suffrage, and when a viva voce vote was taken on a resolution to be sent to the legislature and the Wilmington members individually not a single dissenting voice was heard.

This is the experience we are having in all the meetings and indicates the favorable sentiment that exists.

I believe that we have the greatest reason to be encouraged about Delaware. All we need is work, and that we are willing to give.

Mabel Vernon.

Work in the South

MRS. MINNIE E. BROOKE, of North Carolina, who has undertaken a trip through the Southern States, holding meetings indoors and out to arouse interest in the Federal Amendment and to demonstrate to the Southern Senators the strong interest in that amendment in their own constituencies, writes that her tour has started most auspiciously.

It began with a street meeting at Norfolk, Virginia, where there are already many members of the Union, including Mrs. Pauline Adams, formerly President of the Norfolk Suffrage League. Mrs. H. H. Jones was one of the new members who joined at Mrs. Brooke's meeting. After explaining the situation in Congress to the Norfolk suffragists and informing them of the present hostile attitude toward the National Amendment on the part of the Virginia Senators, Mrs. Brooke left for the far South. Her itinerary includes Macon, Atlanta, Jacksonville, Montgomery, Mobile, Birmingham, New Orleans, Columbus, Chattanooga, Nashville, Knoxville, and Asheville.

Treasurer's Report

Make All Checks Payable to

The Treasurer of the Congressional Union

This Will Save Much Inconvenience

FEBRUARY 15th is the birthday of Susan B. Anthony. We are endeavoring to raise a fund of $5,000 by that date, to continue the work for the national amendment popularly called the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. In bringing the measure to a vote in the House every penny in our treasury was exhausted. In order to continue the work with Congress it is necessary to raise another fund immediately. We appeal to every believer in the Anthony Amendment to send us one dollar before her birthday in memory of her work and in order that that work may be continued. The Congressional Union is the only organization in the United States which is working at the present time for this amendment. Show your belief in the amendment by practical help.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $100,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

(*Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.*)

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM JANUARY 18 THROUGH JANUARY 28

Mrs. Jennie Monroe	$ 3.00
Miss Isabel Cowlan	1.00
Miss Grace L. Taylor	5.00
Miss Taylor	1.00
Miss Elsie Hill (collected)	1.00
Mrs. Nellie W. Perkins	1.00
Miss Emily Perry (collected)	2.00
Mrs. E. O. Leavell	1.00
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Miss Mary B. Anthony	2.00
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Hon. J. R. Knowland	10.00
Mrs. S. F. Prouty	1.00
Miss Roberta Bradshaw	1.00
Miss Evelyn Stoddard	1.00
Miss Jessie Anthony	1.00
Mrs. Kate Boeckh (collected)	.20
Collections	86.45
Membership fees	12.50
Sale of tickets	8.00
Total	$ 1,189.95
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	53,577.48
Total through January 28th, 1915	$54,767.43

One Thousand New Subscribers

WHEN the vote was taken on suffrage in the House of Representatives on January 12th, only nine out of the thirty-six members from Pennsylvania opposed the National Amendment. Every member of the Pennsylvania delegation in the House had received a copy of *The Suffragist* for a year, and this was the only delegation which had been so educated! Apparently *The Suffragist* is a valuable instrument in arousing interest in the federal amendment. Will you not see that the members of Congress from your State receive this paper? If you cannot subscribe for all from your State, will you not send a subscription for at least one of your Senators? Here is an opportunity for real service.

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers

JANUARY 20 TO JANUARY 25

(*In this column we list the subscribers sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.*)

Miss Psyche Webster	1
Miss Virginia J. Arnold	1
Mrs. J. S. Mendenhall	1
Mrs. Helena Hill Weed	1
Miss Margaret Keogh	1
	5
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*	525
Total to January 25th	530

New Members

AMONG the new members who have joined the Union during the week are Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley, prominent in the suffrage work in New York state; Miss Jessie Marion Tompkins, of the East Side Settlement House, N. Y.; Mrs. Elizabeth Morton, leader of the Woman Suffrage Party of the Seventeenth Assembly District of New York City; and Mrs. Nicolas Kelley, daughter-in-law of Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Suffrage Post Cards

THIS week's cover to *The Suffragist* may be obtained on a post card at Congressional Union Headquarters, 1420 F Street, Washington, D. C.

The card is No. I of "War on War" series (Edition 7), prepared by Carrie Harrison, M.A., and Clara S. Ludlow, Ph.D.

No. II and No. III of the series may be obtained at the same address.

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JET SEQUIN BANDINGS, from ½ to 4 inches wide, at a yard, 15c to.... $3.00

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